

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10

EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-02 PRS-01 OES-05 SS-15

USIA-15 SAJ-01 /134 W

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P R 181200Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4728

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USEL SALT TWO GENEVA 109

ERDA GERMANTOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5701

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: CCD, PARM

SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM SWEDISH CCD STATEMENT

REF: GENEVA 5700

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY INGA THORSSON AT CCD PLENARY JULY 17 DEALING WITH BILATERAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, CTB, NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS DISCUSSIONS, NUCLEAR COMMERCIAL DEALS, FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND "SUPERPOWER" RESPONSIBILITIES.

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2. US-USSR DISARMAMENT COMMITMENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS:

QUOTE\* WAS THERE ANYONE WHO HAD ENTERTAINED HOPES THAT IN CONDUCTING THEIR DISARMAMENT TALKS, THE NUCLEAR WEAPON SUPERPOWERS WOULD LET REASON AND COMMON SENSE PREVAIL, BY ARRIVING, AFTER YEARS OF PLEDGES AND PROMISES, AT GENUINE RESULTS IN TERMS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT LONG OVERDUE, THAT THEY WOULD BE EAGER TO SHOW THE WORLD, THEREBY, THAT THEY DID NOT LOOK AT THEIR COMMITMENT UNDER THE NPT ARTICLE VI AS A SIMPLE SCRAP OF PAPER , WHICH COULD BE WHISKED AWAY WITH A REFERENCE TO ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, BUT AS A SERIOUS PLEDGE TO STOP THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AT AN EARLY DATE AND TO PRODCE THOSE GENUINE RESULTS?

YES, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE WERE SUCH PERSONS, THERE WERE INDEED SUCH STATES. THIS MIGHT IN RETROSPECT SEEM A LITTLE NAVIE. WE SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE LEARNT BY EXPERIENCE, THAT POLITICAL REALITIES AS CONCEIVED BY THE SUPERPOWERS AND NOT BY THE REST OF THE WORLD, DICTATE THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. WE WOULD NOT FOR A MOMENT DENY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ENTERTAIN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. BUT THE FACT IS THAT THESE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND BASED ON THEIR CONCEPTS OF WORLD REALITIES. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THE SUPERPOWERS BELIEVE THAT EACH AND EVERY ARMAMENT PROBLEM FACING MANKIND TODAY CAN BEST BE SOLVED, IF SOLVED AT ALL, THROUGH BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN THEM, PRESENTING THE RESULTS TO US AS FINISHED PRODUCTS, WHEN THEY CONSIDER, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, TIME RIPE AND APPROPRIATE. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THEM CONTINUE THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN SPITE OF REPEATED TALKS OF ARMS LIMITATIONS. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THEM DEVOTE ASTRONOMIC SUMS TO RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS TO PRODUCE NEW AND INCREASINGLY INGENIOUS WEAPON SYSTEMS, THE LATEST OF WHICH IS FEARED TO ESTABLISH A FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY. THIS IS WHAT MAKES US ALL LIVE UNDER THE THREAT OF A NUCLEAR ARMS STRATEGY, IMPLYING THE POSSIBILITY OF FIRST USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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IN AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE THIS WOULD CAUSE UNLIMITED, YES TOTAL DESTRUCTION. END QUOTE.

3. ON NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE: QUOTE: MUCH HAS BEEN SAID OF THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEW CONFERENCE, AN EVENT WHICH WAS CALLED, BY SOME, THE MOST IMPORTANT IN 30 YEARS OF DISARMAMENT HISTORY. IT HAS BEEN CALLED A FAILURE, BOTH BY PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS.

I WOULD SAY, IN ALL FRANKNESS, THAT THE CONFERENCE ACHIEVED WHAT WAS REALISTICALLY POSSIBLE. IF IT BROUGHT THE SUPERPOWERS ONE INCH TOWARDS A MORE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE WORLD EXPECTS OF THEM, IT WAS WORTHWHILE EFFORTS AND COSTS. FOR WHAT WAS A FAILURE WAS NOT THE CONFERENCE, BUT THE WAY IN WHICH THE SUPERPOWERS PROVED THEMSELVES UNABLE TO SHOW THE WORLD NOT ONLY THEIR GENUINE WILL BUT ALSO THEIR CAPACITY FOR DISARMAMENT. END QUOTE.

4. ON CTB: QUOTE: AS IS WELL KNOWN, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS ONE DISARMAMANET MATTER WHICH ACCORDING TO A DECISION BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON THE CCD-AGENDA, WHICH IS BEING REFERRED TO IN DEFERENTIAL TERMS NOW AND AGAIN BUT ON WHICH VERY LITTLE PROGRESS, IF ANY, HAS BEEN MADE FOR 12 YEARS NOW. I AM REFERRING, OF COURSE, TO THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS OUR INTENTION NOT TO ALLOW THIS MATTER TO BE BURIED BENEATH THE THRESHOLD OF ANY PARTIAL UNDERGROUND TEST BAN TREATY, AS--CONTRARY TO ANY SUCH BAN--THE CTB IS THE SINGLE MOST DECISIVE STEP TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THAT COULD BE TAKEN, A STEP TO BE GREETED WITH JOY AND RELIEF ALL OVER THE WORLD, A STEP IN THE WAY OF WHICH THERE ARE NO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES THAT COULD BE ACCEPTED AS AN EXCUSE NOT TO TAKE IT. I THEREFORE WANT TO BRING TO LIGHT AGAIN THE SWEDISH WORKING PAPER CCD/348 OF SEPTEMBER 1971 AS WELL AS THE NINE DELEGATIONS JOINT MEMORANDUM CCD/354 OF SEPTEMBER 1971, ON A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. AS MIGHT BE RECALLED BY SOME AROUND THIS NEGOTIATING TABLE, THE WORKING PAPER CCD/348 CONTAINS A DRAFT TEXT OF A TREATY BANNING ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR UNCLASSIFIED

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WEAPON TESTS, THUS MAKING FOR A COMPLETE TEST BAN. WITH THE INTENTION TO INITIATE A FULL AND CONCRETE DISCUSSION ON THE MANY ASPECTS OF SUCH A TREATY, LEADING UP TO RENEwed NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS URGENT MATTER, I AM CONSIDERING TO PROPOSE THAT THE CCD CALL AN EXPERT MEETING, TO BE HELD DURING ITS SPRING SESSION 1976, ON THE REMAINING PROBLEMS STILL CONSIDERED TO BE IN THE WAY TOWARDS THE DISCONTINUANCE OF ALL TEST EXPLOSIONSIN ALL ENVIRONMENTS. END QUOTE.

5. ON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' DISCUSSIONS: QUOTE: PRESS REPORTS HAVE REACHED US, MR. CHAIRMAN, INDICATING THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SUPPLIERS OF NUCLEAR FACILITIES HAVE MET RECENTLY TO DISCUSS FURTHER MEASURES TO INCREASE CONTROL AND SAFEGUARD MECHANISMS

IN ACCORDANCE WITH CERTAIN STANDARDS. AS A COUNTRY  
DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE SERIOUS SIDE-EFFECTS OF  
NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY WE APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS THUS  
REPORTEDLY MADE, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO INFORMATION AS  
TO THEIR SCOPE AND CONTENT. END QUOTE.

6. ON NUCLEAR DEALS (I.E. FRG-BRAZIL): QUOTE:

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE REPORTED EFFORTS, WE FIND IT  
DISQUIETING TO SAY THE LEAST, THAT MEANWHILE  
IMMENSE COMMERCIAL DEALS ARE CONCLUDED, INVOLVING

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THE PROVISION NOT ONLY OF NUCLEAR REACTORS BUT ALSO

ALL THE FACILITIES TO COMPLETE THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE, THEREBY IN REALITY ENABLING THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. THIS AFFAIR AGAIN, BUT WITH UNCOMMON FORCE, BRINGS TO MIND DOUBTS WHETHER THE NPT-SAFEGUARDS, NOT TO SPEAK OF THE ORIGINAL IAEA-SAFEGUARDS, REALLY ARE SUFFICIENT TO CONTAIN THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TECHNOLOGY IN ITS HOPED FOR CIVILIAN LIMITS. TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING HERE I WANT TO STRESS THAT I SAY THIS WITHOUT ADDRESS TO THE PARTICULAR COUNTRIES INVOLVED. IN SAY IT IN RESPONSE TO MY OWN DOUBTS

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THAT OUR PRESENT NUCLEAR ENERGY REGIME REALLY IS SUFFICIENT, SOMETHING I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY BEFORE. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SUPPLIER COUNTRY IS A PARTY TO THE NPT AND WAS A PARTICIPANT IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE I DO, HOWEVER, HOPE THAT IT MIGHT BE PRESUMED THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS KEPT IN MIND THE CONFERENCE REQUESTS-WHICH IT HAS SUPPORTED-THAT EXPORT REQUIREMENTS INCLUDE THE APPLICATION OF SAFEGUARDS TO ALL PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES IN IMPORTING STATES NOT PARTY TO THE TREATY. EVEN BETTER WOULD IT HAVE BEEN IF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION HAD ADHERED TO SUGGESTIONS MADE FOR A MORATORIUM ON TRANSFERS OF THIS KIND, TO GIVE TIME FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATION-ALSO SUPPORTED BY THAT COUNTRY--FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL OR MULTINATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE CENTERS. END QUOTE.

7. ON FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: QUOTE: MUCH OF THE NEWS OF THE DAY COMPOUNDS A SINISTER CONFIRMATION OF THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE STILL ATTACHED TO THIS HORRIBLE MEANS OF WARFARE AND SEEMS, INCREDIBLY ENOUGH, TO NEGATE, AGAIN, THE HOPE THAT IT WILL NEVER BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, FOR WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF HUGE ARSENALS OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE THE LEADERS OF ONE OF THE SUPERPOWERS REPEATEDLY CONFIRM THEIR CONSISTENT REFUSAL TO RULE OUT FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A RESPONSE TO A MASSIVE ATTACK WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS? WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN NEW WEAPONS OR WEAPON SYSTEMS ARE DEVELOPED WHICH SEEM TO "TAKE ON A LIFE OF THEIR OWN" AND WHICH SEEM TO RESULT IN A NEED FOR NEW POLICIES AND STRATEGIES INSTEAD OF THE OTHER WAY AROUND, OUT OF THE SHEER MOMENTUM OF ADVANCES IN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY? WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN WE SEE AGAIN THE PROPOSITION TO REPLACE HIGHER-YIELD WEAPONS NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPE WITH ACCURATELY

DELIVERED LOW-YIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS? END QUOTE.

8. ON "SUPERPOWERS" RESPONSIBILITIES: QUOTE: WE ARE DETERMINED NOT TO BE IMPRESSED WITH THE RHETORIC OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE SUPERPOWERS MILITARY PLANNERS AND STRATEGISTS, NOR PARALYZED IN OUR EFFORTS BY THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY HEGEMONY OF THESE POWERS. WE ARE GOING TO FACE THEM WITH THE LEGITIMATE REQUEST, OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THAT THEY RESPOND IN ACTION AND PRACTICAL RESULTS TO THE UNIVERSAL CRY FOR DISARMAMENT, AS A MEANS TO SUBSTITUTE PROGRESS TOWARDS GENUINE PEACE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF CATASTROPHIC DISASTER. FOR IT IS THEY WHO CARRY THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH A PROCESS LEADING UP TO HUMAN SURVIVAL IN DECENTY AND DIGNITY. AT THE SECOND NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE WE DO INDEED EXPECT THEM TO PROVE TO THE WORLD THE EFFECTIVE START OF THAT PROCESS. END QUOTE. DALE

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## Message Attributes

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